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REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE UNITED NATIONS OPERATION IN MOZAMBIQUE

INTRODUCTION

1. The present report is submitted in response to paragraph 13 of Security Council resolution 850 (1993) of 9 July 1993, which requested me to keep the Council informed of developments regarding the full implementation of the provisions of the general peace agreement (S/24635, annex) and to submit a report to it by 18 August 1993 on the outcome of the discussions on the revised timetable, including the assembly and demobilization of forces and the formation of the unified armed forces. The Council subsequently agreed to my suggestion that the submission of the report be postponed in view of the projected meeting between the President of Mozambique, Mr. Joaquim Chissano, and Mr. Afonso Dhlakama, President of the Resistência Nacional Moçambicana (RENAMO). The present report therefore covers the period up to 25 August 1993 and brings up to date the activities of United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) in implementing the military, humanitarian, electoral and political aspects of the mandate entrusted to it by the Security Council.

2. The most significant development since my last report to the Council on 30 June 1993 (S/26034), was the arrival in Maputo, after several postponements, of Mr. Dhlakama, and the start on 21 August 1993 of a series of meetings between him and President Chissano. It is widely expected that these meetings will continue until some form of agreement has been reached on major outstanding issues. The importance of this development cannot be overemphasized. Progress in many major areas of the peace process depends on the successful outcome of these discussions.

I. MILITARY ASPECTS

A. Deployment of the military component

3. In my previous report (S/26034), I had informed the Council that the delays that had impeded the rapid deployment of the ONUMOZ military component had been overcome and that, by the beginning of May 1993, the five infantry battalions provided for in my operational plan had been fully deployed along the Beira, Tete, Limpopo and Nacala corridors and along National Highway No. 1. Since then, deployment of all contingents has been completed with the arrival of the Indian engineer company, which is operating in the southern region.

4. At the end of August 1993, the total strength of the formed units, including support elements, was 6,004 as follows:

Argentina	36
Bangladesh	1 363
Botswana	721
India	899
Italy	1 010
Japan	48
Portugal	280
Uruguay	816
Zambia	831

5. As envisaged, operations of the contingents involve mainly the conduct of motorized and air patrols along the corridors, establishing checkpoints and conducting train escorts. United Nations troops have also been involved in escorting road convoys carrying relief food to populations in need in various regions, as well as transporting equipment to assembly areas. In addition, they have carried out repair and reconnaissance of roads, both in populated locations and en route to assembly areas.

6. As of 25 August 1993, 303 of the authorized total number of 354 military observers had arrived in Mozambique. Assisted by troops from the contingents, the observers are now actively involved in the establishment and preparation of assembly areas, conducting inspections and investigations of cease-fire violation complaints.

7. In paragraph 5 of my previous report to the Council (S/26034), I emphasized the need to provide additional patrols and observation, including permanent stationing of military personnel outside transport corridors. I also indicated the need to bring the strength of the military component of ONUMOZ up to the levels originally envisaged. My Special Representative and the Force Commander have now strongly recommended to me the deployment of United Nations troops in Zambezia Province, in addition to the five corridors, in order to ensure security, to provide escort convoys for humanitarian operations, and to facilitate assembly and demobilization of troops in this vast and heavily populated region. I am studying this proposal closely and will present my recommendations on the strengthening of the United Nations military presence in this important province to the Security Council in due course.

B. Establishment of assembly areas and demobilization

8. Substantial progress has been made with respect to the establishment of assembly areas for the cantonment of Government and RENAMO troops prior to their demobilization. So far, 34 of the 49 assembly areas have been found acceptable by all sides and have already been approved by the Cease-fire Commission. Of these 34 sites, 26 are designated for government and 8 for RENAMO troops. Teams of ONUMOZ military observers have been deployed in 18 of these 34 approved assembly areas so that the cantonment process may begin as soon as possible. I very much hope the readiness of the United Nations to start receiving troops immediately in the cantonment areas will encourage the parties to begin this process without further delay. At this stage, the process hinges on the success

of the meetings between President Chissano and Mr. Dhlakama. As my Special Representative, Mr. Aldo Ajello, has reported to me, Mr. Dhlakama had made it clear that he could not begin demobilization of his troops until the question of administrative control over RENAMO-held areas is resolved. Meanwhile, the Government has indicated its readiness to send its troops to the assembly areas as soon as RENAMO is prepared to do the same.

C. Cease-fire

9. Since the signing of the general peace agreement, there have been 47 complaints of cease-fire violations all of which have been investigated by the Cease-fire Commission with the active participation of ONUMOZ. The Commission approved the results of almost half these investigations; some complaints have been dropped, while the results of the remaining cases, which relate primarily to the question of control and administration of territory, have been transferred to the Supervisory and Monitoring Commission for consideration.

10. The most serious complaints are the following: in late June and early July 1993, RENAMO had detained 27 Mozambican hunters in the area of Salamanga (Maputo Province), claiming that they had been hunting in this RENAMO-controlled area without "RENAMO's permission". After interventions by ONUMOZ, RENAMO released the hunters in the presence of my Special Representative and United Nations military observers. Meanwhile, complaints concerning government encroachment on three villages in Tete Province and on a RENAMO base at the village of Mangole in Gaza Province during the third week of July were filed by RENAMO. While acknowledging that its forces had attempted to dislodge RENAMO from the Tete villages, the Government presented arguments that implied that it reserved the right to use military force in order to reclaim territory that it considered rightfully under its control. In this connection, my Special Representative made a public statement to the effect that disputes of any kind could be resolved only within the mechanisms established under the general peace agreement. Other members of the Supervisory and Monitoring Commission issued a joint statement deploring unilateral action aimed at occupying or reoccupying areas by force. At a subsequent meeting of the Commission, the Government stated that it had no intentions of taking any unilateral action.

11. At the end of July 1993, following the Government's encroachment on the village of Mangole, a statement issued by a senior RENAMO official threatening unspecified retaliatory action against the Government added to the atmosphere of tension. My Special Representative strongly denounced this position.

D. Formation of the Mozambican Defence Forces

12. The general peace agreement provided that the formation of the new Mozambican Defence Forces (FADM) was to begin immediately after the cease-fire came into effect and was to be conducted simultaneously with the process of assembly and demobilization of troops so that the new army would be operational by the time elections were held. The process was to be supervised by the Joint Commission for the Formation of the Mozambican Defence Force (CCFADM) which includes, in addition to the parties to the agreement, representatives of

France, Portugal and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, as statutory members. Shortly after the Security Council adopted resolution 850 (1993), by which it, inter alia, agreed to the parties' request that the Joint Commission be placed under the chairmanship of the United Nations. My Special Representative convened the first formal meeting of the Joint Commission on 22 July 1993.

13. At that meeting, the Joint Commission approved the Lisbon Declaration by which France, Portugal and the United Kingdom set out the programmes they would offer to assist in the formation of FADM. The Commission decided to initiate the training of instructors for the new Mozambican army immediately by sending 100 officers (50 each from the Government and RENAMO) to the training facility at Nyanga (Zimbabwe) where they arrived on 3 August 1993. After some delays, it is now expected that an additional 440 officers will be dispatched to Nyanga at the beginning of September 1993. I am also pleased to inform the Council that on 13 August 1993, the Joint Commission approved three important documents: the timetable for the formation of the new army; the rules and criteria for the instructors to be trained in Nyanga; and the structure of the high command of the new army. These documents, which were signed at a public ceremony, should have a positive influence on the work of other commissions.

II. HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE PROGRAMME

14. The comprehensive humanitarian programme is continuing to cover repatriation, demobilization, emergency relief and the restoration of essential services. Its most important goal is to address effectively the reintegration needs of all Mozambicans. In this connection, the programme also focuses on balance-of-payments support for marketed food and agricultural inputs as well as institutional support to strengthen local capacity to manage post-war humanitarian programmes.

15. At the Follow-up Donors' Meeting to the Donors' Conference on Mozambique held in Maputo on 8 and 9 June 1993, considerable concern was expressed about the amount of resources not earmarked. Although some progress has been made in reducing the size of unallocated funds, many donors have yet to indicate the activities or the implementing agencies to which they wish their pledges directed. The United Nations Office for Humanitarian Assistance Coordination (UNOHAC) has recently written to such donors to encourage them to make decisions, so that the implementation of some underfunded activities can go forward. However, even if all commitments were allocated to specific activities, there would still be a net shortfall of some $70 million.

16. The key outstanding needs in the consolidated Humanitarian Assistance Programme are in the following areas and sectors: (a) agriculture, including seeds and tools; (b) multisectoral or area-based programmes, including the reintegration of demobilized soldiers; (c) emergency, including non-food relief, logistics, and the transport of vulnerable groups; (d) the repatriation operation; (e) institutional support; and (f) balance-of-payments support. In this context, it should be pointed out that access to seeds and tools is essential to a successful return of Mozambicans to the land. Also, the importance of assisting demobilized soldiers to reintegrate into civilian life cannot be overstated.

17. Significant population movements took place during the months of January and February 1993, prior to the secondary planting season. With the main agricultural season beginning in October/November, increased additional population movements are expected. It should be pointed out, however, that for Mozambique as a whole, and within the context of its population of refugees and internally displaced persons, the return of potential resettlers has been relatively slow. One reason for this relatively slow pace of return is the insecurity which potential resettlers feel about the future. Another is the absence of basic services in the areas to which they are expected to return. Without open roads and the bare minimum of economic activity and services, potential resettlers may prefer to wait another year before moving back permanently. The beginning of the demobilization process should, however, send a clear signal that peace is stable and also encourage movement back to the land.

18. However, in certain areas, population movements have recently picked up. Such is the case in Nampula Province where, in contrast to the previously slow rate of resettlement, movement back into RENAMO areas within the province increased considerably from June through August 1993. This increase is due in part to the expansion of assistance from solely relief activities, to include health, water, agricultural inputs and education. Food continues to be delivered to many regions, including many RENAMO areas.

19. Some 326,000 refugees are now back inside Mozambique, a number equal to over 20 per cent of the total of 1.5 million Mozambicans in refuge outside Mozambique at the time the Peace Agreement was signed. More than half of these returnees have moved to the small, exceptionally fertile District of Angonia in Tete Province. The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has held three transport operations for returning refugees from Zimbabwe, mostly heading for Manica Province. An agreement has now been signed with Swaziland to begin the repatriation of some 24,000 refugees in that country in late August 1993, with the International Organization for Migration handling the transport of the refugees to over 100 different villages and towns inside southern Mozambique.

20. The Commission for Reintegration held its third meeting on 27 July 1993. A series of documents was approved that served to identify the key principles pertaining to the reintegration of demobilized soldiers; impartial treatment of different categories of military personnel; rural orientation; and the use of existing institutions wherever possible. The key programmes identified are in the areas of training and labour-intensive employment creation, owing to the weakness of the formal labour market. This substantial progress resulted from a month of careful and intense preparatory meetings with all concerned.

21. An information programme for the soldiers in the assembly areas was approved; it seeks to encourage the demobilized to return to their rural homes and to re-establish their families as viable economic units. The programme will include precise information for vulnerable groups among the demobilized and general information related to labour-intensive opportunities and training facilities. In this connection, the programme will launch a literacy campaign and make use of radio programmes and local discussion groups.

22. Some progress has been made in the implementation of the mine-clearing programme. A Mine Clearance Subcommittee has been established to review as well as develop programme and operational details that will be incorporated in proposals for approval by the Cease-fire Commission. Proposals related to a country-wide mine survey and the training of Mozambicans in demining and mine-clearance operations are now ready for approval by the Cease-fire Commission.

III. PREPARATIONS FOR THE ELECTIONS

23. The multiparty consultative conference, under the chairmanship of the Minister of Justice of Mozambique, which was suspended on 27 April 1993, resumed its work on 2 August 1993 to discuss the text of the draft electoral law prepared by the Government. All parties, including RENAMO, were in attendance. It had already been agreed that, after the discussion, the Government would present the finalized draft electoral law to the National Assembly for approval and that the document should conform strictly to both the letter and the spirit of the general peace agreement. While the decision of the parties to resume their efforts to discuss the draft electoral law was a positive development, little actual progress has been made in agreeing on a text. In fact, as of 25 August 1993, only 16 of the 284 proposed articles had been considered, with debate breaking down over article 16. This article concerns the composition of the National Electoral Commission, which would be responsible for organizing the parliamentary and presidential elections and should be representative and impartial.

24. According to the Government's original proposals, one third of the members of the National Electoral Commission would be nominated by RENAMO and the remainder by the Government. RENAMO and the parties which constitute the so-called "unarmed opposition", while accepting the Government's suggestion that the Commission should comprise a total of 21 members, have been claiming more representation for themselves and have made a counter-proposal according to which the Government, RENAMO and the "unarmed opposition" should appoint seven members each. The Government's latest position is that it should appoint 11 members, RENAMO 7, and the unarmed opposition 3 members. Another counter-proposal, put forward by a minor party, suggests that the Commission should consist of 10 members from the Government, 7 from RENAMO, 3 "unarmed opposition" appointees, and an independent chairman.

IV. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

25. Apart from the resumption of the dialogue on the draft electoral law (see sect. III above) and the decision to send officers to Nyanga for training as instructors, an important political development since my last report (S/26034) involves the work of the commissions provided for in the general peace agreement. Since July 1993, all four tripartite commissions chaired by the United Nations have been meeting on a regular basis and approving documents aimed at facilitating and accelerating the peace process.

26. The Supervisory and Monitoring Commission has concentrated on two main issues: the electoral law and guidelines for cease-fire violations. It also

considered a document on rules of conduct for the Cease-fire Commission regarding the movement of troops after the signature of the general peace agreement. This document, which separates the military and logistic aspects of such movements from those relating to the administration of territory, has received the full support of the international members of the Supervisory and Monitoring Commission as well as the approval of the Government. RENAMO has requested more time for consultations. Once approved, the document will allow the parties to resolve the problems that arose following the Government's encroachment on three villages in Tete Province, and it is hoped that it will prevent similar situations from occurring in the future. The document also reiterates that all military movements conducted after 4 October 1992 with the purpose of gaining new military positions must be considered as cease-fire violations, and that those troops that had been moved for such purpose should be withdrawn to their previous positions.

27. The Commission for Reintegration has approved key programmes for demobilized soldiers in the areas of training and labour-intensive employment, as well as an information programme for soldiers in the assembly areas. The Commission for Reintegration also decided to recommend to the Supervisory and Monitoring Commission that it extend the activities of the Humanitarian Assistance Committee in accordance with Protocol V, section III, paragraph 5, of the general peace agreement.

28. The general peace agreement also called for four commissions to be established, comprising members of the Government and RENAMO as well as other members appointed as a result of consultations held by the President of Mozambique. Members of three of these commissions have been appointed, and the following bodies have been formally established: the Commission for State Administration, the National Information Commission and the Police Affairs Commission. However, owing to persistent mistrust between the two parties, none of these commissions has yet been convened. RENAMO has objected to the members appointed by President Chissano as well as to the chairpersons selected by him. The establishment of the fourth, the National Electoral Commission, will be determined after the adoption of the draft electoral law (see paras. 23 and 24 above).

29. In his contacts with President Chissano and Mr. Dhlakama, my Special Representative has consistently conveyed to the parties the strong concerns shared by the Security Council and myself that, despite some tangible progress, delays have not been overcome. In particular, he has emphasized to the parties the importance the international community attaches to the holding of the elections in Mozambique no later than October 1994. Obviously, there is an urgent need to agree, without further postponements, on the revised timetable for the implementation of all provisions of the general peace agreement, which was presented by my Special Representative to the parties several months ago. As Council members are aware, the revised timetable takes as its point of departure the resumption of the work of the commissions beginning on 3 June 1993 and concluding 16 months later with the holding of elections in October 1994. The concentration and demobilization of Government and RENAMO troops, to be carried out in stages, is expected to take eight or nine months. The concentration of troops is scheduled to begin in September 1993 and will be followed a month later by the beginning of the demobilization. It is expected

that 50 per cent of the soldiers will have been demobilized by January 1994, and the demobilization of troops should be completed by May 1994.

30. Approximately 30,000 soldiers are to be absorbed into the new army and the rest are to return to civilian life. Half the new army is to be operational by May 1994 and formation of the new army should be completed by September 1994. Home transportation of soldiers who will not be part of the new army is to start in October 1993, after demobilization begins, and is to be concluded by April 1994 in order to enable the demobilized soldiers to register for the elections. Voter registration is expected to take three months and is scheduled to be carried out from April to June 1994. The repatriation of refugees and displaced persons has already begun and is expected to be largely completed by April 1994 so that the resettled population may register in time for the elections.

31. Although the revised schedule has not yet been formally approved by the Supervisory and Monitoring Commission, important progress has been made in key areas. The Government has explicitly agreed to the October 1994 deadline for the holding of the elections, while RENAMO has expressed its implicit agreement. Hence, both parties have agreed in principle to fulfil the overall objective of the general peace agreement within the proposed time-frame. Although some specific modifications have been requested, my Special Representative has made it clear that these should not affect the ultimate goal of holding elections in October 1994.

V. OBSERVATIONS

32. The recent developments in the Mozambican peace process have been encouraging. The most significant of these has been the long overdue start of direct talks between President Chissano and Mr. Dhlakama in Maputo. Although these talks are still under way, they have already instilled a renewed sense of optimism about the prospects for the full and timely implementation of the peace process in Mozambique. There can be no doubt that genuine national reconciliation will be warmly welcomed by all Mozambicans and that it will receive the strong support of the international community.

33. I suggested delaying the submission of the present report expressly in order to be in a position to inform the Council of this event, which not only has special symbolic significance, but is also of substantive importance. As members of the Security Council are aware, President Chissano and Mr. Dhlakama have already announced their intention to meet regularly in the future, and Mr. Dhlakama has agreed to establish a residence in Maputo, dividing his time between the capital and RENAMO headquarters in Maringue. I shall keep the Security Council informed of the progress of the talks. I strongly urge the parties to take this opportunity to turn their current dialogue into an ongoing and action-oriented process aimed at bringing the peace process to a successful outcome. All efforts to this end should stay firmly on the track charted by the general peace agreement.

34. I especially welcome the readiness of RENAMO to accept the principle of a single administration throughout the country. I very much hope that this issue, which is crucial to many elements of the peace process, can be resolved in the

coming days, along with the questions concerning the early initiation of the assembly and demobilization process, which are other pressing imperatives. In this context, the timely dispatch of the second group of government and RENAMO military trainees to the Nyanga military facility in Zimbabwe would be a significant advance.

35. It is of vital importance that President Chissano and Mr. Dhlakama reach an understanding on how to break the current deadlock on the composition of the future National Electoral Commission. Several proposals have been put forward; goodwill and determination on the part of all parties involved would help to bridge the already shrinking gap in their respective positions. Having said this, it is my belief that, notwithstanding the present difficulties regarding the establishment of this important commission, work should proceed expeditiously on the drafting of the electoral law so that it may be approved without undue delay, thus making it possible for the elections to be held no later than October 1994, as emphasized in Security Council resolution 850 (1993).

36. There is a pressing need for the two parties formally to approve the revised timetable for the implementation of the peace process. Since most of the elements for the successful movement forward of the peace efforts are in place, I have instructed my Special Representative to follow the above-mentioned plan as closely as possible, and strongly urge the parties to take advantage of the promising situation. The constructive progress achieved recently should not lose its momentum. Furthermore, the demands on the United Nations and its critical financial constraints preclude any further delay or procrastination. The international community, I am confident, would not entertain further attempts to attach conditions to the peace process or to gain more time and obtain further concessions. For its part, the United Nations will continue to support and assist all parties and the people of Mozambique in their endeavours to bring lasting peace and democracy to their country.